

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 02582 01 OF 02 252003 Z

71

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 USIE-00 SS-15 NSC-10 H-02 OMB-01 IO-12 OIC-04

AEC-11 ACDA-19 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 RSR-01 /141 W
----- 042139

O R 251756 Z MAY 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0250

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 2994

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLOSACLANT

USNMR SHAPE

USDEL SALT TWO

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2582

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: REVISED DRAFT GUIDELINES

HELSINKI FOR USDEL MPT

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: A) USNATO 2528; B) USNATO 2461

C) STATE 098540; D) STATE 099729

SUMMARY: SPC MET MORNING AND AFTERNOON OF MAY 24 AS INSTRUCTED BY
NAC (REF A) AND AT REPEATED URGING OF CHAIRMAN AND U. S. REP
PRODUCED REVISED, MORE HEAVILY BRACKETED VERSION TRANSMITTED BELOW
OF PARAS ONE THROUGH TWELVE OF EARLIER TEXT (REF B) INTENDED TO
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 02582 01 OF 02 252003 Z

SHARPEN ISSUES FOR NAC MEETING ON MAY 28. REMAINING PARAS OF
GUIDELINES (13-17) WILL BE REVIEWED BY SPC IN AFTERNOON OF
MAY 25. SEPTTEL GIVES COMMENTARY ON MAY 24 SPC MEETINGS.
ACTION REQUESTED: UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED, WE WILL DRAW

ON REFS C AND D FOR MAY 28 NAC, BUT ANY SUPPLEMENTARY GUIDANCE
WOULD BE USEFUL. END SUMMARY

FOLLOWING IS NEW DRAFT TEXT OF PARAS ONE THROUGH TWELVE OF
GUIDELINES.

BEGIN TEXT

PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES

1. (NEW GERMAN/ CANADIAN PARAGRAPH OR SENTENCE)

1.(CONTINUED) OR 1 BIS). THE ALLIED POSITION ON MBFR
SHOULD AIM AT A BALANCED OUTCOME THAT WILL ENSURE UNDIMINISHED
SECURITY FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE AT A LOWER OVERALL
LEVEL OF FORCES. BY THIS IS MEANT THE MAINTENANCE, AND IF
POSSIBLE THE ENHANCEMENT, OF THE MILITARY SECURITY POSTURE
OF THE ALLIANCE. MBFR MEASURES SHOULD NOT BE OF SUCH SCOPE
AND MAGNITUDE AS TO DIMINISH THE ABILITY OF THE ALLIES TO
TAKE THE NECESSARY MILITARY STEPS TO FULFIL CURRENTLY
AGREED NATO STRATEGY: FORWARD DEFENCE, FLEXIBLE RESPONSE
AND NUCLEAR DETERRENCE.

GEOGRAPHIC AND RELATED CONCERNS

2. EITHER: BEGIN BRACKETS (THE GEOGRAPHICAL APPLICATION OF MBFR
AGREEMENTS SHOULD DEPEND ON THE CONTENT AND NATURE OF THESE
AGREEMENTS. REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE CONFINED GEOGRAPHICALLY
TO CENTRAL EUROPE. END BRACKETS

OR BEGIN BRACKETS (THE MBFR PROGRAMME SHOULD BE CONFINED
GEOGRAPHICALLY TO CENTRAL EUROPE.) END BRACKETS

PLUS THE SECURITY ISSUES ON THE FLANKS, IN THE
MEDITERRANEAN AND IN THE BALKANS ARE SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT
FROM THOSE IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IT IS GEREFORE IMPORTANT TO
AVOID EITHER PROCEDURAL OR SUBSTANTIVE APPROACHES TO MBFR
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 02582 01 OF 02 252003 Z

WHICH WOULD THREATEN TO OPEN UP THESE OTHER AREAS FOR
CONSIDERATION IN BEGIN BRACKETS (THE MBFR PROGRAMME) END BRACKETS
OR BEGIN BRACKETS (REDUCTIONS) END BRACKETS OR
INVOLVE COMMITMENTS TO ADDRESS THESE AREAS AT A SUBSEQUENT
STAGE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

3. THE FORTHCOMING MBFR NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD TAKE
ACCOUNT OF THE POSSIBLE EFFECTS ON THE SECURITY OF NATO' S
FLANKS OF FORCE REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

4. THE AREA FOR THE MBFR PROGRAMME MUST NOT BE
LIMITED IN EAST AND WEST ONLY TO THE TERRITORIES OF THE
TWO STATES IN GERMANY.

5. BEGIN BRACKETS (THE ALLIED POSITION ON MBFR SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE RISKS INVOLVED IN THE CREATION OF A SPECIAL GEOGRAPHICALLY CONFINED ARMS CONTROL ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE: EASTERN INFLUENCE, THROUGH MBFR AGREEMENTS AND PROCEDURES, ON WESTERN SECURITY STRUCTURE, SHOULD BE AVOIDED, OR AT LEAST KEPT TO A MINIMUM AND ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS.) END BRACKETS

6. NEITHER THE CONDUCT NOR THE OUTCOME OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO INHIBIT THE AGREED PROGRAMME FOR THE CREATION OF A EUROPEAN UNION OR THE GROWTH OF EUROPEAN DEFENCE CO- OPERATION.

REDUCTIONS

7. IN PURSUIT OF THE OBJECTIVE OF UNDIMINISHED SUCURITY, THE ALLIED APPROACH TO MBFR SHOULD BE AIMED AT REDUCING THE ASYMMETRIES IN THE MILITARY BALANCE FAVOURING THE WARSAW PACT (THE SIZE, COMPOSITION, AND OFFENSIVE ORIENTATION OF PACT FORCES) AND MITIGATING THE GEOGRAPHIC ADVANTAGE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN REINFORCEMENT.

PLUS EITHER: BEGIN BRACKETS (THUS, THE ALLIED OBJECTIVES IN MBFR SHOULD INCLUDE APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES AND THE REDUCTION OF ELEMENTS IN THE WARSAW PACT POSTURE MOST THREATENING TO NATO SECURITY.) END BRACKETS

OR: BEGIN BRACKETS (THUS THE ALLIED OBJECTIVES IN MBFR
SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 02582 01 OF 02 252003 Z

SHOULD BE BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF A COMMON CEILING IN TERMS OF MILITARY CAPABILITY OF GROUND FORCES APPROPRIATELY DEFINED, AND PAY PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THOSE ELEMENTS IN THE WARSAW PACT POSTURE WHICH REPRESENT THE MAIN THREAT TO NATO SECURITY IN THE CENTRAL REGION.) END BRACKETS

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PAGE 01 NATO 02582 02 OF 02 252013 Z

71
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SAJ-01 USIE-00 SS-15 NSC-10 H-02 OMB-01 IO-12 OIC-04

AEC-11 ACDA-19 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 RSR-01 /141 W
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O R 251756 Z MAY 73
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0251
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 2995
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USLOSACLANT
USNMR SHAPE
USDEL SALT TWO
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 2582

8. EITHER: (1) BEGIN BRACKETS (ALLIED PROPOSALS FOR MBFR SHOULD INITIALLY FOCUS ON REDUCTIONS OF STATIONED FORCES. THE REPARTITION OF THE REDUCTIONS ON NATO SIDE WILL BE A MATTER OF FURTHER ALLIED CONSULTATIONS, BUT THE REDUCTIONS SHOULD FOCUS ON U. S. GROUND FORCES.

REDUCTIONS OF INDIGENOUS FORCES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AT A LATER STAGE.) END BRACKETS

OR: BEGIN BRACKETS (GIVEN THE SUPERIORITY OF SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FOCES IN THE CENTRAL REGION, THE REDUCTION OF SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH IN THE AREA MUST BE A PRIMARY AIM. IT CANNOT BE OBTAINED WITHOUT SOME REDUCTIONS IN WESTERN STATIONED FORCES. IN THE LIGHT OF THE CONSIDERATIONS IN PARAGRAPH 5 AND 6 ABOVE, REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE CONFINED IN SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 02582 02 OF 02 252013 Z

THE FIRST INSTANCDE TO UNITED STATES AND SOVIET FORCES.) END BRACKETS

OR: BEGIN BRACKETS (ALLIED PROPOSALS FOR MBFR SHOULD AT LEAST INITIALLY FOCUS ON STATIONED FORCE REDUCTIONS, SINCE THE NATURE OF THE PRESENT CONFRONTATION IS SUCH THAT REDUCTION OF SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH IN CENTRAL EUROPE MUST BE A PRIMARY AIM AND CANNOT BE OBTAINED WITHOUT REDUCTIONS IN WESTERN STATIONED FORCES.) END BRACKETS

OR: BEGIN BRACKETS (NEGOTIATION ON THE OVERALL MBFR PROGRAMME SHOULD LEAD INITIALLY TO REDUCTIONS IN THE FOREIGN STATIONED FORCES OR SOME OF THEM, SINCE THE NATURE OF THE PRESENT CONFRONTATION IS SUCH THAT REDUCTION OF SOVIET MILITARY CAPABILITIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE MUST BE A PRIMARY AIM AND CANNOT BE OBTAINED WITHOUT REDUCTIONS IN WESTERN STATIONED FORCES.) END BRACKETS

9. REDUCTIONS ON THE ALLIED SIDE SHOULD NOT EXCEED APPROXIMATELY TEN PER CENT IN TOTAL STATIONED OR TEN PER CENT

IN TOTAL INDIGENOUS MANPOWER.

10. (EQUIPMENT)

PHASING

11. BEGIN BRACKETS (THE MBFR PROGRAMME) END BRACKETS
BEGIN BRACKETS (REDUCTIONS) END BRACKETS SHOULD BE
NEGOTIATED AND IMPLEMENTED IN PHASES. PHASING IS INTENDED
TO ENSURE THAT MBFR MOVES IN A CONTROLLED AND CALCULABLE
PROCESS WITH LIMITED OBJECTIVES AND ACCEPTABLE RESULTS.

NON- CIRCUMVENTION

12. AN IMPORTANT GOAL OF THE ALLIED APPROACH TO MBFR
SHOULD BE TO ENSURE THROUGH APPROPRIATE MEASURES, THAT THE
PROVISIONS OF ANY MBFR AGREEMENT WILL NOT BE CIRCUMVENTED OR
UNDERMINED, FOR EXAMPLE BY MEANS OF AN INCREASE OF THE LEVEL
OF STATIONED FORCES AND THEIR EQUIPMENT IN HUNGARY. EITHER
BEGIN BRACKETS (THE QUESTION OF HUNGARY'S INCLUSION IN A CONSTRAINTS
AREA SHOULD BE KEPT OPEN.) END BRACKETS OR BEGIN BRACKETS (THE

SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 02582 02 OF 02 252013 Z

ALLIED CONCEPT SHOULD THEREFORE INCLUDE
HUNGARY IN CONSTRAINTS AGREEMENTS.) END BRACKETS

12(BIS). WAYS MUST BE FOUND TO DEAL WITH THESE VALID
MILITARY CONCERNS, KEEPING IN MIND THE LEGITIMATE SECURITY
INTERESTS OF THE FLANK COUNTRIES AND THE INDIVISIBILITY OF
THE SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE. A DECISION OF ANY ALLIED FLANK
COUNTRY OF COUNTRIES NOT TO BE INCLUDED IN RESTRICTIONS WHICH
WOULD BE PART OF AN AGREEMENT ON FORCE REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL
EUROPE SHOULD BE SUPPORTED BY THE ALLIES.

(1) DELEGATIONS RECOGNIZED THIS TO BE ONE OF THE KEY ISSUES
ON WHICH A FORMAL ALLIED DECISION CANNOT BE REACHED EASILY.

END TEXT

RUMSFELD

SECRET

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To: STATE
SECDEF INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USLOSACLANT
USNMR SHAPE
SALT TWO

HELSINKI
VIENNA

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